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THE
Argument
AGAINST
A Standing Army,
RECTIFY'D.

THE

ARGUMENT

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A Standing Army

RE-EXAMINED.

THE

ARGUMENT

AGAINST A

Standing Army Rectified,

AND THE

Reflections and Remarks upon it

IN

Several Pamphlets, Conſider'd.

In a Letter to a Friend.

The Lords and Commons Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, *January*, 22. 1688. in order to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that our Religion, Laws and Liberties might not again be in Danger of being ſubverted, declar'd, *That the Raiſing or Keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unleſs it be by Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law.*

Pro Rege, & Patria.

LONDON: Printed in the Year 1697.

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THE ARGUMENT AGAINST A Standing Army, &c.

SIR,

IN Anſwer to your Deſire, to ſend you my own Thoughts, and thoſe of our Friends here concerning the *Arguments* Pro and Con about a *Standing Army*, I have ſent you them as follows, but muſt tell you that we are not Opinionative, and ſhall be glad, as al good Subjects ought to be, to acquieſce in whatever the Wiſdom of the Nation, now Aſſembled in *Parliament*, ſhall think fit to determine in theſe Matters.

The

The Author of the *Argument* hath in my Opinion diſcovered a great deal of Reaſon and Wit, and no leſs Affection to his Prince and Country, however he may be traduc'd by ſome who are very much inferiour to him in alll thoſe good Qualifications.

Yet I muſt beg his Leave to think that his Commendable Zeal for the Welfare and Security of his Country, hath carry'd him a little too far. So that inſtead of ſaying poſitively *that a Standing Army is inconſiſtent with a Free Government, and abſolutely deſtructive to the Engliſh Monarchy*, he ought to have qualified it thus, *That a Standing Army in time of Peace, unleſs it be by Conſent of Parliament, is Inconſiſtent with a Free Government, and abſolutely deſtructive to the Engliſh Monarchy*, or which is all one, *againſt Law*; and for this We have the Authority of the Convention ſign'd with that of Their Majeſties King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, who accepted of the Crown upon Agreeing to this and other things relating to the Liberty of the Subject, as is to be ſeen in the Claim of Right.

But in the Threſhold, I finding my ſelf oblig'd to do the Author ſo much Juſtice as to ſay, that the Writers of the *Reflections* and *Remarks* upon him have ſhew'd a great deal more of Malice and Raſhneſs than of Reaſon and Argument, when they brand him as a *Jacobite*, or a *Republican*: In my Opinion the Gentleman hath

hath ſufficiently provided againſt ſuch Imputations, by pleading all along againſt thoſe things that he thinks deſtructive to the *Engliſh Monarchy*: but it hath been the Conſtant Practice of a Certain Party in the Nation, to blaſt all endeavours for the Liberty of their Countrey, with the Calumny of ſetting up for a Republick, in order to make the beſt Patriots hateful to the Court, and that they might either procure or be continued in places themſelves, or at leaſt to ſerve a Faction that are for Arbitrary Government; which of theſe, or whether all or any of them be the Motives of thoſe Writers that have ſo rudely treated the Author of the Argument, I ſhall not ſo much as preſume to Conjecture, becauſe I am altogether unacquainted with their Perſons and Characters, as I am indeed with his.

But to come to the matter, The Caſe is now altered from what it was when either of them wrote, His Majeſty, who is part of the Legiſlative Power, having declar'd His Opinion to the Parliament, that the Circumſtances of Affairs abroad are ſuch, *That for the preſent*, England *cannot be ſafe without a Land-force*. This coming from the Mouth of the King, who ſits at the Helm of the Government, and of ſuch a King as hath always demonſtrated a fatherly care of his Subjects, and an inmitable Courage and Conduct in his Adminiſtration, ſets the matter in quite another Light. Then ſeeing His Majeſty is undoubtedly able to ſatisfy the Nation as to the Truth of his Aſſertion,

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The Queſtion is about the neceſſity of a ſtanding Army, how numerous that Army muſt be, of what Troops Compoſed, for how long they muſt be kept up, and what are the moſt proper methods to prevent the dangers which the Argument inſiſts upon, to be the Natural Conſequences of a ſtanding Army, in caſe of His Majeſties Death, and a Succeſſor, who may perhaps be Acted by other Councils, and not endowed with the Royal Qualifications that all Men allow His Majeſty to be bleſſed With. Now that this is neceſſary to be conſidered will be denied by no Man that wiſhes well to our Religion and Liberties, ſeeing it muſt be granted, that His Majeſty is liable to a Violent or Natural Death as well as other Men, and more Obnoxious to the former, becauſe of the Malicious Plots of his execrable Enemies.

What methods are moſt proper to reach thoſe deſirable Ends, muſt be left to the Wiſdom of the King and Parliament to determine, but that there is a danger in keeping a ſtanding Army, as well as in being without one, is ſo obvious that it cannot well be denied, and therefore there is a neceſſity of making proviſion in both reſpects, which no doubt may be effected without ſuch Heat and Clamour, as the Pamphletears againſt the Arguments are full of, The *Letter for Ballancing excepted*, which is indeed modeſt and to the point.

That

That we are in Danger without a *Standing Army* is reaſonably enough inſiſted on from the Power of the *French* King; his Levity in obſerving former Treaties, which the Anſwers to the Argument make a mighty noiſe about, and to this may be added, that the Principles of that Religion, whereof the *French* King is the profeſſed Champion, allows the Breach of the moſt Solemn Ties, and the Perpetration of the moſt horrid Crimes to advance the *Roman* Church. So that all thoſe things conſider'd, there is an abſolute Neceſſity that we ſhould be on our Guard; and as Matters are at preſent, how we can any way be reputed to be ſo without a Standing Force, is to me unconceivable.

I know that to alleviate thoſe juſt Cauſes of Apprehenſion it is argued that he is now grown antient; that his Country is exhauſted of Men, as are his Treaſuries of Money, that his gaining ſo little by breach of former Treaties, hath convinc'd him that 'twill be his Intereſt to obſerve this, and that in ſhort his Country ſtands in need of a time of breathing, ſo that there's nothing now to be fear'd from that Head.

To this it may be replied, that *Marius Caius*, the *Roman* Conſul, recover'd himſelf, though an Exile, ſentenc'd to Death, and abandon'd by all Men, when well ſtricken in Years, and aveng'd himſelf ſufficiently on thoſe that had reduc'd him to thoſe Straits; that though *France* be exhauſted of Men, yet the laſt Campaigne is enough to demonſtrate that he's ſtill able to match the Allies for Numbers; and though it muſt be granted that his Treaſures are pretty well emptied, yet if it be well conſider'd what an Ingenious Author of that Country did lately write in the Ruin and Deſolation of *France*, demonſtrated his Clergy, who poſſeſs one half of all the Eſtates Real and Perſonal in that Kingdom, are ſtill in a manner untouch'd, though poſſeſs'd of Immenſe Riches; ſo that if he ſhould take the ſame Meaſures with his Popiſh Clergy, as *Guſtavus Erickſon*, King of *Sweden*, did with his, or as our *Henry* VIII. did with ours; that is to ſay, turn them out of their Monaſteries, Abbies and Riches, which is eaſie for him to do with his *Standing Army*, who by the ſacking of Churches and Religious Houſes in *Germany* and *Flanders*, have given proof enough to the World that they have no Scruple of Conſcience to be ſo imploy'd: I ſay, If he ſhould take this Courſe,

Courſe, he would quickly abound with Men and Money, and as eaſily overflow his Neighbouring Countrys, if they had no *Standing Armies* to reſiſt him, as the Sea driven by a ſtrong Wind, would overflow *Weſt-Friezland* and *Holland*, if they ſhould demoliſh their Banks and Dikes.

Then, as to the Deſolation of his Country, it's rather an Argument that he is to be dreaded than deſpiſed, conſidering what vaſt Numbers of Diſciplined Troops he has on foot; who to be ſure, if they had their choice, had rather be plundering their rich Neighbours, live in Plenty, and enjoy all the Liberty that's commonly allow'd Soldiers in an Enemy's Country, than be expos'd at home to mannure Deſolate Lands, and cultivate Ruin'd Vineyards, without the Proſpect of any higher Reward than Wooden-Shooes or Canvas-Shirts, and at the ſame time to be liable to all manner of Exorbitant Taxes. And as a Military Life, muſt needs be more Eligible to them after ſo many Years being accuſtomed to it, there's no doubt but it would likewiſe be more agreeable to his Aſpiring Genius, if he did not find himſelf in danger of being overmatch'd; and if we conſult the Hiſtories of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Huns*, *&c.* who like an Inundation, did overſpread *Europe* ſucceſſively,

we ſhall find that their want of a comfortable Subſiſtance at home was one of the main Cauſes of thoſe Eruptions they made upon their Neighbours abroad, and there's no Body acquainted with the preſent Condition of *France*, but knows that the Soldiers liv'd much better in the Armies than the Peaſants and ordinary Tradeſmen did at home, and that was one great Reaſon why his Armies were always ſo Numerous.

As to his being convinc'd by his gaining ſo little by the Breach of other Treaties, that 'twill be his Intereſt to obſerve this, I ſhall be very willing to allow that he is poſſeſs'd with ſo Generous and Magnanimous a Soul, that he abhors to do any thing that's baſe; but ſeeing he is ſo unhappy as to be of a Church which pretends to hallow the ungodlieſt Means, ſo they be but effectual to attain their end, they transform Vice in Virtue, and make him to think it his greateſt Glory to perpetrate ſuch things; which without that Biaſs he would think highly diſhonourable. Then as to his Gains by former Breaches, tho it's true he hath had a ſecret Vomit, which hath made him to diſgorge many Towns and Countries, yet he is ſtill a great Gainer by the Bargain, and retains conſiderable Conqueſts both from *Spain* and the Empire.

It

It is alſo further to be obſerved, that tho the *French* King cannot ſo eaſily invade us as he can do his Neighbours on the Continent, yet by this Peace he hath in ſome meaſure diſſolv'd the League, that 'twill not be eaſie to aſſemble again ſo many Troops belonging to ſo many different Princes to oppoſe him, and he hath moreover thrown in a Bone of Contention betwixt the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire, and the Emperour who hath conſented to the Robbing of the Proteſtants of ſo many of their Churches, which no doubt will highten thoſe miſ-underſtandings, that have been obſervable enough betwixt the Proteſtants and Papiſts in *Germany* during the War, and whilſt they are divided amongſt themſelves upon a Religious Account, there's little appearance that either Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria* will give any aſſiſtance to us, and for the Proteſtants of *Germany*, they are likely to have work enough to defend themſelves, if any Rupture happen on the Account of Religion, ſo that we ſeem to be under an abſolute neceſſity of putting our ſelves in ſuch a Condition, as we may be able to ſtand on our own bottom.

There's

There's another thing ſtill, which is of very great Conſequence, tho ſome perhaps may think it remote, and that is the fair Proſpect which the Houſe of *Bourbon* has, of having the Crown of *Spain* United to that of *France*——Their hopes in this matter ſeem not ill founded nor remote, conſidering that weak State of the King of *Spains* Health, their being no likelihood of his having any Iſſue, the ſtrong Faction which the *French* King has in *Spain*, the weakneſs of that Kingdom to reſiſt him in caſe of an Invaſion, and then being cut off from all Proſpect of help (if they make any Efforts to preſerve their Liberties) but what they may probably have from us. This Conſideration alone ſhews the neceſſity of our having a Land-Force in readineſs, either to defend *Flanders*, our Natural Barrier from being ſwallowed up by the *French* King, who will then have a better Title to it than ever, or to be Tranſported to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* in their own Country; for if the Crown of *France* become once poſſeſs'd of *Spain* in *Flanders*, we are, humanely ſpeaking, block't up on all ſides, our Trade muſt every where be at their Mercy, and we are liable to their Invaſions, without any Proſpect of relief; for as I have obſerv'd already, they have Created a diverſion for the *German* Proteſtants, the United Provinces are in the very Mouth of the Lion, and the *French* will take care to daſh the *Northern* Crowns one againſt

againſt another. All theſe things being conſidered, do in my Opinion demonſtrates an unavoidable danger from the Circumſtances of Affairs abroad, if we be left without a Land-Force at home, and therefore tho the Court inſiſt upon it, there's no Reaſon to ſuſpect that they have any Deſign upon the Liberties of their own Subjects, when there's ſo much cauſe to provide againſt Forreign Enemies.

But now on the other Hand, that there is danger from a ſtanding Army at home, is equally demonſtrable; as will appear from the following Reaſons.

1. The Country hath always look'd upon them as a Grievance in time of Peace, could never digeſt their Rude behaviour and ſlow pay, and were much diſguſted by their ill Morals.

2. The renewed attempts of the Court in the Late Reigns, to enſlave the Country by ſtanding Armies, hath made their averſion to them Natural and in a manner Hereditary, ſo that the Jealouſie on that Head is almoſt incurable.

3. So

3. So long as there's a Party in the Kingdom that is not ſufficiently purged of the old Leaven of Paſſive Obedience, and the Army not reform'd in Morals; the preſent Government, which is founded upon Principles diametrically oppoſite to the former, and hath always declar'd it ſelf againſt Debauchery, can never be ſafe, if ever the late King or his pretended Son ſhould land with a *French* Power, except the Army be otherwiſe model'd than at preſent; for if the debauch'd Soldiers be once poſſeſs'd by theſe Paſſive Obedience-Men, and the Jacobite Gentry in the Country, who have always declar'd a greater good Liking to Popery than to Diſſenters; that the preſent Government is not throughly well affected to the Church, which is the common Topick of the diſaffected Party, becauſe of the King's being bred in *Holland*, his granting Liberty of Conſcience in *England*, and eſtabliſhing Presbytry in *Scotland*; I ſay, that if once the Army be poyſon'd with thoſe Suggeſtions, that together with the continual Exclamations of the Jacobite Party againſt the *Dutch*, may very much endanger the preſent Government, by the revolt of ſuch a *Standing Army*, in caſe of any ſuch Invaſion as above mentioned.

4. So

So long as a ſtanding Army continues on the preſent footing, not only the Diſſenters, but all the moderate Church of *England* men, and thoſe called Whiggs in general, will continue uneaſie and be afraid of Invaſions, in caſe of his Majeſty's Death, upon their Liberty and Property, as it happened in the late Reign, ſo that there is cauſe to fear that the Jealouſies of the two Parties may throw the Nation into new Convulſions, and the Army, as in all probability it will, joining with the Court, Liberty and Property will be again in danger of being ſwallowed up, the Nation engag'd in a Civil War, and expos'd to a Foreign Conqueſt after the two Parties have weaken'd themſelves by mutual Slaughter and Bloodſhed.

The Caſe then being thus, and the dangers Great and Eminent in both reſpects, it follows of courſe, that the neareſt ought to be provided againſt firſt, and that is to be done by a Land Force, till ſuch time as the K. and Parliament are ſatisfied that the danger from abroad is over.

But then, conſidering on the other hand that we have no Leaſe of the Kings Life, proviſion ought to be made againſt the other as ſpeedily as may be ; but the methods of doing this muſt be choſen and determined by the King and Parliament.

The Argument propoſes as a defence againſt Foreign Invaſion, the Regulating the Militia, ſo as to make them ſerviceable : The training up of all the Subjects in the uſe of Arms, and keeping a good Fleet, ſo diſpoſed in Convenient Ports as to prevent an Invaſion.

This in my opinion is highly reaſonable, and were it brought to paſs, would prove a very effectual Remedy both againſt Invaders from abroad and Tyrants at home; but the miſchief on't is, that it is neither done nor like to be done time enough to anſwer the Ends; and ſeeing it is ſo, no reaſonable Man can think that the Nation ſhould be laid naked without a defence in the mean time; and this I confeſs is the main thing wherein I diſſent from that Ingenious Paper: I am far from the opinion of his Adverſaries, who reproach him as a Republican, Apoſtate Whigg, Jacobite, ſowre Temper'd, Whimſical and Melancholy Fellow, nor do I think they diſcover much Judgment in ridiculing his propoſal as to the Militia and Navy. It is certain that formerly this Nation did as Remarkable Exploits againſt the *French* and *Scotch* when they had no ſtanding Army, as ever they have done ſince, and that the Battles betwixt the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and betwixt the Barons and the King were fought with as much bravery and order, tho' the Armies conſiſted only of the Country Men and Retainers of either Party, as ever have been done ſince ſtanding Armies came in faſhion. Nor can there be any reaſon aſſigned why the Militia ſhould not equal the Regular Forces, as they are now called, either for Valour or Diſcipline, provided they were equally Train'd as all the people of the Nation were in thoſe times; but the true reaſon why the Militia come ſo far ſhort of the Regular Troops now is that the Court having in the late Reigns framed to themſelves a diſtinct Intereſt from the Country, they durſt not entruſt them with Arms, nor encourage their being train'd up in the uſe of them; but bleſſed be God the caſe is otherwiſe now, his Majeſty is ſenſible, and hath

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from time to time expreſs'd his ſenſe of the Affections of his people, and declar'd *That he neither has nor can have any Intereſt diſtinct from theirs.* It was their affection ſettled him on the Throne, and hath ever ſince kept him in it, ſo that the better his Subjects are train'd up in martial Diſcipline, the more firmly is his Crown fix'd.

It is equally certain that there are fewer Mercenary Soldiers and Officers in the Militia; as Originally conſtituted, and more of the Free-holders and Subſtantial Men of the Nation, than in a ſtanding Army, and no man can doubt but the Maſter of a Family, his Son or truſty Servant, will fight with another ſort of Zeal for their own Property and Poſſeſſions, than a Mercenary Soldier, who, as the Argument ſays too true, makes a Profeſſion to be a Butcher of Men for *6 d. per.* day without conſidering what Cauſe he engages in, and that there are too many ſuch in our Army, cannot be denied by any Perſon that hath not bankrupt all his modeſty; and as for thoſe ſilly inſtances which his Advarſaries inſiſt upon of the Militia's not having acted their parts, the reaſon is plain, they were not Diſciplin'd, which was the fault of the Government and not of the people; it is moreover a very falſe way of Argumentation to conclude, becauſe the Militia as neglected in the lat Reigns, were not to be compared to the Regular Troop can never be brought to be as uſefull in the defence o. their Country as a ſtanding Army in other Reigns, but the truth of the matter is, thoſe Authors are not willing to have it put to the Experiment.

The Argument owns that the Militia is not so proper for Conquests indeed as for Defence, and for Conquests we have no occasion to make any, nor were we ever very happy in preserving them. Yet if all the Males of the Nation were brought up to the use of Arms on Holy-days, &c. which were a more commendable way of spending their time than has of late been practised. We should not need to fear our King's wanting disciplined Men to go abroad with him on occasion, without putting the 100000 l. Men as one of the Pamphlets call, them to the trouble of doing so; nor is it very decent in any person to cast such an unbecomeing reflection upon that Royal Regiment of Citizens, whom his Majesty honoured to be their Colonel himself, but persons of those Authors kidney had rather belike see Arms in the hands of a Dammee, than in the hands of a Sober Citizen: Vice is always afraid of Virtue, but specially when in a Capacity to suppress it. Some of the Gang remember the blows still they received from the hands of the Citizens, in the late Parliament Wars, and don't care to rencounter with such Adversaries any more, they had rather contribute to debauch them in Taverns and Play-houses, as being indeed the readier way to have their Wives and Daughters, nay and their Purses too at their Devotion.

The Argument does also propose a mixing of the Standing Army, or part of 'em at least with the Militia, in order to train them, and to provide for themselves, which his Adversaries do mightily ridicule and alledge that all the dangers he fancies from a Standing Army would continue in that case, but I must beg leave to dissent from those Gentlemen, they know well enough that the frequent exchange of Garisons on the Frontiers

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of Kingdoms is practiſed as an effectual means to prevent traiterous Corriſpondences in thoſe Gariſons, and that the mixing of numerous Deſerters among other Troops, is lookt on as a good way to prevent any ill deſigns they may have in deſerting; then why ſhould not the mixing of the Regular Troops amongſt the whole Militia of the Kingdom, where the Soldiers have neither the ſame Officers, Comrades nor the like opportunities to do miſchief were they ſo inclined, as they had when in a ſeparate ſtanding Army: And moreover the Officers of the Militia are or ought all to be Men of Eſtate or Note, and of good Report and Credit where they live, and the Militia Men themſelves not making War their Trade, but being only called out upon an Exigent for the Defence of their Country, they can never be ſuppoſed to be ſo rude and deſtructive to the places where they are quartered, as the Souldiers of a Standing Army generally are, many of whoſe Officers, eſpecially ſince buying and ſelling of Commiſſions came in faſhion, are known to be Men of no Eſtate nor Reputation, but preferr'd either for their Money or becauſe perhaps they have been *Valet de Chambres*, or otherwiſe ſerviceable to a Superiour Officer, and ſo have neither Honour nor Probity to reſtrain them from ill practiſes themſelves, or to oblige them to puniſh them in others, as Gentlemen of Note in their reſpective Counties have or ought to have, or otherwiſe are not fit to be intruſted with Command.

Theſe Gentlemen do likewiſe ridicule the Arguments propoſal of a Good Fleet at Sea, as not ſufficient to prevent an Invaſion, becauſe his preſent Majeſty made his Deſcent notwithſtanding K. *James*'s Fleet; and that the *French* landed Men in *Ireland*, and have gone out

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and into their own Ports, when our Squadrons have been lying before them, and chiefly because they suppose that the same Wind which brings the *French* from their Coasts, may keep our Fleet Wind-bound upon our own.

In this part as in all the rest, they deal very unfairly with our Ingenious Author, he does not propose the relying upon a Fleet only, but would have the whole Nation train'd in the Exercise of Arms, to oppose any Invader: Nor do they at all take notice of his Project, of having our Fleet so disposed into Squadrons, as at the Lands End, *Plimouth*, &c. That it would be impracticable for the *French* to Invade us, let the Wind lie how it will, without exposing their Transport Ships at least to one or other of those Squadrons. As to their Instances of the King's making his Descent notwithstanding King *James*'s Fleet, it is nothing to the purpose, had the said Fleet been so dispos'd as our Author proposes the *Dutch* Fleet could not so easily have escaped them; but we are moreover to believe that the Prince of *Orange* had his Friends in the Fleet as well as in the Army, which does perfectly alter the Case.

Then as to the *French* having landed Men in *Ireland*, and gone out and into their own Ports, notwithstanding our Squadrons lying before them, the Authors know that in most or all of those Cases, there have been shrewd suspicions of Treachery, or a real or pretended want of Orders, Provisions, or somewhat: Nay, as I remember, the escape of the *Thoulon* Fleet through the Straits once, and their getting into *Brest* at another time, have been questioned in Parliament, and there past a Vote in the House, that there was a notorious Treachery in some of our Miscarriages of that nature, so that the

the Anſwerers of the Argument can conclude nothing from this, for that Author always ſuppoſes our Fleet to be honeſt; and the King's Ships to be Commanded either by Gentlemen of known Integrity, or ſuch true Tarrs as the Captain called *Honour and Glory*, and not by Lap dogs as one of our Lampoons repreſented them after *Torrington*'s Defeat, who have ſpent more of their time in the School of *Venus*, than in that of *Mars*.

Then as to the equal danger that thoſe Authors ſuggeſt from a ſtanding Fleet as from a ſtanding Army, it is very eaſie to ſhew them their miſtake. In the firſt place, they can give us no inſtance of it, that ever our Fleet pillaged or plundred their own Country, whatever ſome few Ships may have done either under *Charles* II. when Prince of *Wales*, or at other times, whereas it is very well known that the Army under *Charles* the I. treated the Subjects in as barbarous a manner as a foreign Enemy would almoſt have done——and the Country does ſtill remember what horrid diſorders were committed by thoſe of *Charles* and *James* II. In the next place, it is plain that if the Fleet ſhould revolt againſt the nation, they forfeit all thoſe pledges they have on ſhoar which are much more conſiderable in proportion than the thoſe of the Land Army, for though we ſhould grant that many of the Land Officers have Eſtates and Families, yet few of the Soldiers have, whereas the far greater part of the Marine Officers have Eſtates and Families and but few of the Seamen are without the latter; and to give them their due, they ſeem to have a better ſenſe of the true Intereſt of the Nation than the Land Soldiers generally have, and hence it came to paſs that the Wappeners were ſo much expos'd to Reflections in the late Reign, and that they have appear'd ſo Zealous for this, and from

the ſame Cauſe it muſt needs proceed, that not one Ship of the Navy Revolted from the preſent Goverment tho' *Dumbarton*'s and other Regiments of the ſtanding Army did. But to give thoſe Gentlemen all the ſcope they can deſire, we will ſuppoſe what no man in his right Wits will ever ſuppoſe to be practicable, that the whole Navy ſhould Revolt, and bring in a *French* Army upon us; that could not hinder the Nation from calling in the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, *Daniſh*, and *Swediſh* Men of War to oppoſe them, which their own Intereſt would ſoon prompt them to do, nor yet prevent the people's Arming like one Man to make head againſt the Foreign Invader, whereas if a ſtanding Army ſhould by the Authority of any ſucceeding Prince join with him to ſwallow up the Liberties of the people, they can effect it ſpeedily, as being in the midſt of us, where they have opportunity to cut off the whole Parliament at a blow, as *Chriſtiern* of *Denmark* did that of *Sweden*, or to Lop of the oppoſite Nobility and Gentry by degrees, and ſo the people having none to Conduct them muſt ſubmit like Sheep without a Shepherd, and I wonder at thoſe Gentlemen who think this impracticable, when *Charles* I. came into the Parliament Houſe with an Armed Force and demanded the five Members, and *Oliver* by Military Force modelled the Houſe as he himſelf pleas'd, ſo that in either of thoſe Caſes the King and the Uſurper had not God reſtrain'd them, might have done the ſame thing as *Chriſtiern* of *Denmark* did ——

There's another pleaſant Fancy which one of thoſe Authors has broached, *viz.* That there's no ſlavery to be fear'd but in Conjunction with Popery, when the whole Nation remembers to this day how near we were en-

enſlaved by *Charles* II. and many of them do ſtill remember that had it not been for the *Scotch*, *Charles* I. had ſwallowed up their Liberty's after the defeat of the Parliaments Forces in the Weſt, if not before ever the Parliament ſtruck one ſtroke; and yet Father and Son and *Oliver* the Uſurper too, were all three Proteſtants: And for thoſe Gentlemen's further Conviction, let them look abroad into *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and tell us whether thoſe Nations did not loſe their Liberty under Proteſtant Princes.

I ſhall agree with thoſe Authors, that his preſent Majeſty is uncapable of any ſuch thing, that the whole Tenour of his Life, both before and ſince his coming to the Crown, ſecures us againſt any ſuch fears from himſelf; it is evident to the world that inſtead of his ſeeking after a Crown, there were three Crowns that ſought after him, elſe we had never been troubled with ſuch long and learned debates, whither there was an Abdication and Vacaney of the Throne or not. I ſhall moreover be as willing as any of them to ſuppoſe that none of thoſe nam'd in the Succeſſion as now limited will attempt any ſuch thing: But we muſt grant what *Solomon* ſays to be true, *That none knows who ſhall ſucceed him, whether a Wiſe Man or a Fool.* We cannot always promiſe our ſelves a Queen *Elizabeth*, or ſuch an one as our late Queen *Mary*, nor yet, that every young Prince will prove an *Edward* VI. or that every Foreign Prince that may happen to be match'd with our Heireſſes, ſhall have ſo near a Relation to the Crown as the Prince of *Orange*, or have ſo much Zeal, Courage and Power as he to reſcue us out of the Jaws of Oppreſſors; and therefore ſeeing it is the practice of all Wiſe Men to provide in a Calm againſt a Storm;

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I ſee no reaſon why the Author of the Argument ſhould be treated as one diſaffected to his Majeſty's Perſon or Government. Charity, which is almoſt loſt in this Age, would rather think that he has the higheſt Opinion of his Majeſty that can be, when he takes it for granted that he will agree to ſuch Methods in his own Reign, as will ſecure us from Tyranny in thoſe of others, which any Man with half an Eye may ſee to be unavoidable, if the Maxim of the Reflections be true, *viz. No Army, no King*, when all the World knows there have been and may be, great Kings without ſtanding Armies.

I have exceeded the bounds that I intended at firſt, and ſhall now haſten to a Concluſion. It has been ſaid already that it would ſeem now no more to be the debate, a ſtanding Army or no ſtanding Army, but how great an Army, of what Troops Compos'd, how long they muſt continue, and what Methods are proper to prevent thoſe ill Conſequences that the Argument ſuggeſts. It's certain the Parliament is the fitteſt Judges of all thoſe things, yet ſeeing every one of the Anſwerers has propoſed his own Methods, its hop'd they will not be angry if I tell them what I have heard propoſed by others,

It has been a long time the opinion of ſome Men, that had his Majeſty been adviſed to have kept that Volunteer Army on foot, which roſe for him on their own account, we had prevented the Rebellion in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and brought *France* to reaſon much ſooner; but ſome Men out of a pretended Zeal to the Church, prevailed to have the contrary method taken, to the no ſmall danger of the State. But if reaſon may take place, now that the Church is ſecured as much as Law can ſecure her,

her, and that she has a Test to assure her Discipline, or rather Government.

I say seeing she has a Test to secure her Government, its but reasonable the people should have a Test too, to preserve their Property: And there's a Friend of mine says that were he to have a Test of his making, it should be some such one as this, *viz. That, whereas all men in the late Reigns, that came into places of Power and Trust, were obliged to abhore that Traterous position of taking up Arms by the Kings Authority against his Person, and that they declared there was no obligation upon themselves or any others by that Treasonable Oath, called the League and Covenant.* So now none should be admitted into any place of Power and Trust, without declaring their abhorrence of the Tyranny of the late Reigns, complain'd of in the Claim of Right, and that they account themselves and others under no obligation to believe the Tyrannical Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, as explained and understood in the late Reign: But I know my Friend is hot Headed, and that this Pill is not well enough guilded to go down: Yet there are others who are more moderate, that are of opinion, if the Government think fit to allow of a standing Army, the Country would be the more satisfied if all or most of the Officers be Men of Estates and Interest in the Nation, and known to be such as think they may go to Heaven without believing the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, in the sense above mentioned; and that the said Army be composed as much as may be of those that have been raised, or are now well mixed by such Gentlemen as always opposed the Tyranny of the late Reigns, and that at the same time the Militia and Fleet be also put into such hands, and the former disciplin'd

with as much ſpeed as may be, now that we have plenty of experienced Officers and Soldiers to do it.

My Friends are alſo of opinion, that it is our Intereſt to Cultivate a Good Correſpondence with *Scotland*, in order to which an Union of the Nations would be much more effectual than the Union of the Crowns; for that leaves room for Princes of Arbitrary Tempers to daſh us one againſt another, and to make us the Inſtruments of their Tyranny by turns. Thus King *Charles* the I. threatned to Invade *Scotland*, and actually did it with an Army from *England*; and King *Charles* the II. procured an Act of Parliament in *Scotland* for 20000 Horſe and Foot, with ſo many days Proviſions, to march to any part of his Dominions that he pleaſed, which conſidering the party in this Nation that would have joyned them, might have been fatal to all the three Kingdoms, had not that Prince been more given to his pleaſures than to his Sword. Such an Union, as no doubt it might be effected, to the Honour and Advantage of both Nations, would alſo ſecure this Nation very much in caſe of any future War with *France*, or others; whereas if the *Scotch* be always treated with Contempt, or govern'd by the Councils of a Party, this Nation that hates them, on the account of their Civil and Religious Principles, it may have ill Conſequences at ſometime or other. The Royal Line which Cements them at preſent, is not very numerous in Off-ſpring, and that failing, they have Princes of their own Blood at home, who if they ſtrengthen themſelves by powerful foreign Alliances may prove troubleſome Neighbours, when we are engaged in a foreign War, eſpecially conſidering the great plantation of their Countrymen of the ſame Principles with themſelves in *Ireland*.

Which

Which Kingdom my Friends are alſo of opinion ought to be treated ſo as they may look upon themſelves as fellow Subjects, and that ſome ſtronger efforts ſhould be made, and more Chriſtian methods taken to Civilize and Convert the Popiſh Natives than have hitherto been practiſed, and then we ſhall be in no danger of having our Brethrens Throats cut by them in their Country, nor of being Invaded by them in our own, as in the time of *Charles* I. and *James* II. If *Scotland* and *Ireland* were both united to this Kingdom, upon terms Honourable and Advantagious to us and them, we might ſit as Queen in the Seas, retain our Soveraignty undiſputed, keep the Ballance of *Europe*, nay, of the Univerſe in our hands, be ſecure againſt Tyranny at home, and Invaſion from abroad, and *England* would be the unenvi'd Head of the Union. I have alſo heard ſome Gentlemen give their opinion that 'twere the Intereſt of this Nation, to have methods laid down for entertaining a perpetual Amity with *Holland*, leſt future Princes may daſh us againſt one another as formerly, to the endangering of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Civil Liberties of *Europe*. The only thing that we can have any occaſion to quarrel about, is our rivalling one another in point of Trade, and as Providence did formerly put an opportunity into the hands of this Nation, of taking away the Hereditary Enmity that had been for ſome Centuries betwixt us and *Scotland*, by uniting the Crowns, kind Heaven hath now alſo put an opportunity into our hands of fixing a perpetual Friendſhip with *Holland*, our King and their Stadholder being one and the ſame perſon, and equally the darling of both People; ſo that there's no reaſon to doubt, but in ſuch an auſpicious Conjuncture, matters may be ſo concerted by the Government

ment of both Nations, as to prevent any such competition in time to come, as may occasion a Rupture. There's certainly room enough in the World for both of us to Trade, and if we entertain a good Correspondence, we may in a manner divide the Trade of the Universe betwixt us; but if by the implacable malice of a certain Faction in this Kingdom against that Industrious and brave People, because of their Government being founded upon Principles contrary to Passive Obedience, we be kept off from settling a parpetual Friendship with them, it will certainly argue our infatuation, for there's no Allies we can have that are in any capacity to assist us against *France*, in case that already over-grown Monarchy should be yet further aggrandiz'd by addition of the Dominions of *Spain*, of which as I have said already, they have so fair and near a Prospect.

These are the hasty thoughts, Sir, of our Friends here in Town, as to the Arguments *pro* and *con* about a standing Army, which are all at present the Common Subject of Conversation. I am

Sir, Your humble Servant.

FINIS.